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The paper is the keystone for a feasibility study of an extensive interuniversity program in Washington's inner city, and deals with ways in which effective use may be made of university-based resources to alleviate the massive, complex problems of urban life. The city is described as an ecosystem, containing large numbers of variables that interact with each other. Most traditional urban studies tend to treat each of these components as a self-contained activity and have proven to be inadequate. In the Washington metropolitan area, response to shifting complexities --such as race relations, urban planning, and the federal role within the District of Columbia-- has been largely self-contained, drawing only sporadically upon the competence of local academicians. One possible alternative to the single-purpose approach is the "urban observatory" and its "satellites." The observatory would have an interdisciplinary core of scholars who would collaborate on research priorities and give continuity and direction to the course of action required to fulfill the desired interuniversity commitment to the city. From the satellites, located throughout the metropolitan region, information would flow to the central observatory, and through them, research and educational programming would be directed into the community. (WM)

Higher Education and Urban Affairs

An Approach for Metropolitan Washington

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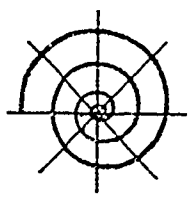

WASHINGTON CENTER FOR METROPOLITAN STUDIES

HIGHER EDUCATION AND URBAN AFFAIRS

An Approach for Metropolitan Washington

by Elden Jacobson

WASHINGTON CENTER FOR METROPOLITAN STUDIES
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FOREWORD

In June 1967, officials from one of the region's major universities discussed with the Center their interest in developing a broader program addressed to the problems of the inner city. These discussions raised a variety of complex and troubling issues for any university: its basic function in our urban environment, the diversion of limited resources from primary teaching or research responsibilities, organization, financing problems, and student participation in programs that are both socially and educationally significant.

As a result of these discussions, the Center approached the Ford Foundation on behalf of the several universities of the city for support of a "Feasibility Study" of an extensive interuniversity program in the inner city. In October 1967, the Foundation granted the Center $24,400 for the project, and the Center matched this grant with approximately $25,000 from its general funds and from a grant to support its education programs from the William G. Donner Foundation.

The study was begun under the general direction of George W. Grier, Senior Associate, in January 1968. In April, Elden Jacobson, who had been a "Professor of the City" at the University of Oklahoma, joined the staff of the Center specifically to work on this project. During the ensuing months, Dr. Jacobson, Mr. Grier, Mr. Atlee Shidler, the Center's Director of Educational Affairs, and I interviewed scores of university faculty and administrators, government officials and interested citizens about the problems of university-city relationships.

Relatively early in the study several things became apparent:

1. A large number of faculty could be interested in extensive programs in urban affairs.

2. There was no available general framework or philosophy within which to organize programs, and most experience with ad hoc approaches seemed to yield little of real value to either cities or higher education.

3. No one university had, or could spare, the resources needed for effective programs without desirable sacrifices in the quality of its primary academic programs.

4. To look at the inner city alone was not intellectually or practically defensible. Programs would have to be developed which related inner-city problems to a general metropolitan context.

5. While some promising service and education programs could be developed by single departments or professional schools, an interdisciplinary organization would be required both to mobilize scattered resources and to have an important impact on the condition of the city and the education of university and community participants in the program.

One approach to these conditions is to plunge into their midst and set something up, get a grant for it, issue a press release on its success, and go on to something else. We felt in this case a need for a more searching inquiry into what we were about before we proceeded. Thus we decided that a basic rationale needed to be built if any program was to be well-conceived, or to have a good chance of survival. This study by Dr. Jacobson became, thus, the keystone for the Feasibility Study. It addresses many of the basic philosophical problems in both their general and their Washington area context. While dealing with and directed toward an academic audience, the issues discussed are also important in the current debate among city administrators and community leaders as they seek ways to make effective use of university-based resources in dealing with the massive and complex problems of urban life. Because of its relevance to both the academic and public discussion of university-city relations, the Center is publishing this paper separately from the other components and products of the study, a report on the study itself, and the prospectus of the Center for 1969-1972.

For those who are concerned about the relevance and the contribution of higher education to urbanism, Dr. Jacobson's study offers, we believe, one practical alternative for achieving important intellectual and social ideals, and a point of departure for a realistic discussion of the important issues involved in developing university responses to the conditions of urban life.

Royce Hanson
President

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I. WHERE WE SEEM TO BE

> Society will somehow demand controls to keep life bearable.
> Wall Street Journal

> Of course we can make the future, for no one else is in charge here.
> Wilbert Moore American Sociological Review

It requires only minimum sensitivity to recognize that on any comparative basis, phenomenal change and concomitment crises are crucial factors in describing the present century. And while evident to the thoughtful for many years, recent violence in the streets of our cities has laid bare for all the compelling fact that few of the crisis with which men uneasily co-exist have greater import or significance than those afflicting our urban areas. To be sure, response has often been no more insightful than congressional anti-riot legislation. But for many, former Interior Secretary Stewart Udall's lament that "we are now paying the price of a century of neglect and poor planning" bespeaks problems of much deeper enormity. Litanies to this "neglect and poor planning" are, of course, commonplace; any respectable accounting will surely include, for example, the following:

> Smoke, water pollution, sewage, health, education, traffic and transportation, segregation and race, crime and poverty . . . constantly increasing pressures for expanded public services; outdated political institutions to deal with the economic and social realities of modern urban society; a public apathy to metropolitan affairs; and an absence of imaginative long-range planning.[1]

The problem may be stated another way:

> The wealthiest and most powerful nation in the world is the poorest in what was supremely precious to the highest cultures of classical antiquity and the renaissances of world history--

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[1] J. Martin Klotsche, The Urban University, (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 32.

> The availability of time for thought and contemplation, for relaxation and creative (time-taking) work, for conversation and study, for love and friendship, for solitude and communion, for doubts and dreams, and for much else. . . .[2]

And perhaps more fundamental still:

> How does one help ordinary men and women, if not to eliminate fear, at least to keep it within bounds, so that reason may play a stronger role in the affairs of men and nations so that men may cease to pursue policies which must lead to the very disasters they fear? To me, this is the most important question that confronts the human race.[3]

Such, in extreme brevity, are some of the problems from whose persistent,often compelling presence we are increasingly unable to escape. But if escape has become impossible, effective redress has also seemed elusive, ill-defined and largely inadequate. Indeed, even the questions have proved complex and difficult. Where do we commence and at what level? Predictably, numerous, often diverse quarters of our society increasingly approach the academic world, assuming that the nation's institutions of higher learning have both responsibility and resources for "solving" urban malaise. Mayor John Lindsay states this proposition well: "Universities are emerging as one of the largest and most interesting employee groups in the city, and we should make sure they are used to full advantage."[4]

While the simplistic utilitarianism of such statements continues to unsettle traditionalist sensitivities, only fatuously can we speak of academic responsibility to society in terms of "whether." Simple reference to the origins and subsequent history of land-grant universities, for example, bespeaks an enormously potent educational philosophy, and, whatever normative judgment is placed upon it, the fact remains that every major American university retains deep, occasionally devious, relationships with industry and government, the Washington area universities not excepted. Such eloquent spokesmen as Robert

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[2]Raghavan N. Iyer, "The Social Structure of the Future," Looking Forward: The Abundant Society (Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1966), p. 19.

[3]Alan Paton, "The Challenge of Fear," Saturday Review, September 9, 1967, p. 20.

[4]New York Times, July 16, 1967.

Hutchins continue to plead for minimization of these entanglements, but their appeals appear quixotic to many faculty. The maze of grants, subsidies and research projects which accrete around the physical and mechanical disciplines and schools of business, the pragmatic nature of most institutional decision-making, and the selective imbalance of research funding seems virtually certain to foreclose upon dramatic change in at least the principle of university responsibility.[5]

But in what fashion? The dilemmas become most acute when criteria are sought with which universities (in their multiple parts) and urban "centers" might respond to and serve the interests of the diverse, frequently conflicting publics that compete for their information, knowledge and technical competencies. That the "urban crisis" now commands the attention and curiosity of higher education generally is an almost trivial observation, spectacularly supported by the four years of student protest that have followed in the wake of Berkeley's Free Speech Movement controversy. Only slightly less evident has been the increasing torrent of articles, books and other expressions of academic battle that have sought to provide, beyond exhortation, some minimal rationale and structure for these new-found interests and

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[5]See Clark Kerr's The Uses of the University (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966). Kerr is not, of course, the "multiversity's" only analyst; see, e.g., Burton R. Clark, "The New University," and Martin Trow, "Conceptions of the University," both in American Behavioral Scientist, May-June, 1968. Descriptive studies like these make all the more incomprehensible much recent polemic that purports to "rescue" higher education. Irving Kristol, for example ("A Different Way to Restructure the University," The New York Times Magazine, December 8, 1968), utilizing the grossest kind of categorical description--"faculty, administrators, and students"--concludes that "no one except government . . . can be asked to defend" the "public interest." Only government can "restructure" this "major social institution [now] in a flagrant condition of crisis." It would not intervene directly, of course; academic institutions would simply no longer receive direct funding. Rather, monies would be channeled directly to students in the form of loans, to be utilized wherever students might so decide. And for what purpose? "The greatest benefit of all . . . is that the new mode of financing higher education will 'shake things up.'"

While Kristol's effort is, without doubt, a nit-picker's delight, abounding with absolutes and undifferentiated terms, more substantive issues obtain: 1) In his zeal to place fiscal power with students, Kristol leaves the tent flap ajar: "Federal grants to institutions of higher learning (excepting research grants) should be slowly phased out entirely. . . ." What a curious exception, for surely it is the

commitments, grappling as they do with educational philosophy, institutional responsiveness, societal expectations, student demands and faculty prerogatives.

The commitment and promise seem evident enough. The president of Brandeis University:

> Our society is in deep trouble. The university has the capacity to redeem or reform society if the university has the will and is itself reformed. . . .[6]

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research camel in the academic tent that underlies many of the fundamental tensions in academic life. Nowhere, however, are these dilemmas recognized, much less discussed. Kristol can hardly have it both ways, and retention of this parenthetical exception seriously vitiates much of his preceding discussion. 2) Since "there just aren't any . . . orthodoxies available" by which higher education might be defined (all have "become otiose"), "shaking things up" will force us to "engage in sober self-examination." Why the latter flows from the former seems not at all so self-evident as Kristol supposes. More importantly, placing predominant fiscal power with students already assumes an implicit end and a set of values, none of which are acknowledged or discussed. 3) I rather agree with Kristol's general assertion that academic reform through faculty encounters difficulties of the first order. "Such off-campus activities as consultancies, the writing of textbooks, traveling fellowships, etc." (he does not mention off-campus research) do exact a cost that, one might conceivably argue, is paid by neglected students (though the number of professors engaged in these activities is most certainly less than Kristol implies). But let us grant his point. On what possible ground, then, could one argue the slightest interest in basic change on the part of government (or business)? It has been, after all, a most significant beneficiary of such consultations and travel and research. If his analysis is descriptively sound, no inducement remains for government to seek the fundamental "restructuring" he assumes to be necessary.

Kristol's article seems characteristic of a current genre Martin Trow has so usefully described: ". . . inexpensive moralizing which condemnsinstitutional realities in the name of high principle and results in irrelevant prescriptions to imaginary universities with real names." Martin Trow, "Bell, Book and Berkeley," American Behavioral Scientist, May-June, 1968.

[6]Morris B. Abram, President of Brandeis University, quoted in The Evening Star, Washington, D. C., October 17, 1968.

The president of The George Washington University:

> For the many institutions of higher learning within the metropolitan Washington area, this philosophy (the land-grant system), coupled with the onrushing needs of the area, makes it mandatory that all colleges and universities respond to these needs with all possible haste and every ounce of effort.[7]

The president of The American University:

> The university "must help mold the city," he said.[8]

The Educational Facilities Laboratories:

> Urban colleges and universities remain a highly promising instrument for the remaking of our cities.[9]

Given these ringing declarations of academic high purpose, the casual observer is indeed surprised at the general paucity of notable university performance within the realm of "urban problems." The multifarious proliferation, for example, of "urban centers" occurring in recent years suggests considerable institutional involvement. But lack of clarity of purpose and objective in the establishment of such centers, their relative isolation from one another, their thrusts toward the esoteric or trivial, their critical variations in levels of competence and their niggardly funding -- all of these seem implied in Kenneth Boulding's depressing observation that far too frequently it is "spurious saliency," the "dramatic quality of events" that dictates academic research and teaching efforts, rather than their actual or intrinsic importance to the social system.

But from what doth genuine saliency derive? On what basis ought we to choose? Unlike Buridan's ass, the university and its related urban-oriented centers have often appeared all too willing to partake of every possibility where governmental or industrial largess is proffered. Perhaps that is why the University of California's

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[7]Lloyd H. Elliott, president of The George Washington University, Annual Report of the President, October 1968.

[8]George H. Williams, president of The American University, quoted in The Washington Post, October 17, 1968.

[9]Campus in the City: 1968, report of Educational Facilities Laboratories, New York, p. 17.

William Wheaton has laconically concluded that "the sum of these efforts is trifling."[10]

This paper is a modest response to these issues. For many months the morass of demand and apathy that characterizes both universities and their wider environments has been the object of systematic attention by the Washington Center. How might the metropolitan area's academic institutions, individually and/or in concert, become, as they say, "relevant" to pressing social need? Too, what role(s) ought institutions like the Center now assume within the university-community confrontation? For although the Center from its inception in 1959 has ostensibly provided a catalyst for urban-oriented faculty concern, its accomplishments in this regard have reflected the situation elsewhere: its principal attentions have often been elsewhere. Response to the shifting complexities of the Washington scene -- race relations, urban planning, and the federal role within the District of Columbia (to suggest but three substantive areas in which research and policy formulation have been undertaken)[11] -- has been largely self-contained, drawing upon local academicians only sporadically and in an ad hoc fashion. This is not surprising, given the past inattention of most scholars to urban process and disorder.

But no more. Presidential declaration is demonstrably a reflection of rapidly growing faculty, student and community restiveness with many present institutional arrangements. And, as the Center alone is not now (as it may have been in 1959) an adequate expression of this diverse restiveness, neither are the individual universities. Hence, consideration of the future of university activity in urban affairs, or of the Center's future, clearly dictates more adequate analysis of the relationships among these institutions. That analysis must clarify three essential questions:

1. Among the multiple social institutions now asserting an urban responsibility, what may be said to constitute distinctive or unique contributions by higher education?
2. Given these presumed strengths, what substantive issues and/or activities may be derived from them?

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[10]"The Role of the University in Urban Affairs." (Paper delivered at Arlington State College, Texas, October 1966.)

[11]See, e.g., Royce Hanson, The Anatomy of the Federal Interest (1967); Eunice S. and George Grier, Case Studies in Racially Mixed Housing (1962); and Frederick Gutheim, Urban Space and Urban Design (1962). Each is a publication of the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies.

3. What structural arrangements seem necessary to maximize an academic approach to such issues and activities?

What should universities do? And why? And how? I hold no illusion, of course, that the analysis and courses of action proposed here are in any sense definitive. Traditional research concerns -- individual scholarship, single-university institutes, departmental collaboration, etc. -- will continue almost certainly to warm the cockles of academic hearts. But I am equally persuaded that alternatives to existing modes are critically needed if academic rhetoric be taken seriously, and that the relationships posited below offer possibilities not now easily realized.

The remainder of this paper, therefore, presents the following argument:

1. Universities are unique among social institutions. They embrace the bulk of human learning, and most of their inhabitants remain committed to rationality and openness.

2. Universities most adequately serve the larger urban society when this breadth of knowledge and commitment to reasoned analysis are utilized to further our understanding of metropolitan complexity.

3. The academic world can -- indeed, should -- be one critical arena in which the options we confront as a society are more adequately formulated and explored.

4. Identifiable groups of both students and faculty are now pressing for alternatives to traditional disciplinary and departmental limitations through which the concern for wholeness and direction may be expressed.

5. Numerous alternatives are possible. The "urban observatory," and its concomitant "satellites," as defined in this paper is one. While seemingly appropriate for the Washington area, it may well answer situations elsewhere.

II. UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY AND THE PROBLEM OF DEFINITION

Why Autonomy?

> But these directions have not been set as much by university's visions of its destiny as by the external environment, including the federal government, the foundations, the surrounding and sometimes engulfing industry. . . . The university may now again need to find out whether it has a brain as well as a body.[1]

As is their wont when pressed to do so, academicians characteristically describe the academic life as that of "discovering and disseminating new knowledge" (in that order). It is a useful image, suggestive of a detached and scholarly life whose commitment to an elusive truth is illuminated and protected by a revered "academic freedom" (whose historical tradition is shorter than we usually admit). Yet it is ironic that while numerous segments within the academic community remain deeply committed to the classical image of liberal scholarship and learning, others presumably as dedicated to the university have distended its boundaries to encompass areas of activity to the point where traditional definitions now seem remarkably tenuous.

In simplistic terms, academic freedom seemingly entails the right of academics to learn, report and teach within their adjudged competencies, without fear of possibility of financial or political reprisal. But the image this evokes of the solitary scholar and his collected students has little congruence with much we presently observe within the academic procession: large university-directed research laboratories on both coasts where contractual relationships with government and industry produce activities, many of which are classified ("in the national interest") and hence not subject to scrutiny by academic peers; or field situations where social research is undertaken for specific, directed purposes, again not freely transmittable throughout the disciplines represented. In such instances (and they are many), it seems fair to assert that university resources have been sold to those special interest groups having sufficient capacity to pay. Nor does the essential, often beneficial nature of

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[1]Kerr, The Uses of the University, pp. 122-23.

the resulting product vitiate the fundamental issue. Neither does it seem satisfactory to insist that we have participated voluntarily. The literature available, to say nothing of personal experience, is replete with the rationalizations and compromises invoked. As Clark Kerr indicates, "a federal agency offers a project. A university need not accept -- but, as a practical matter, it usually does. . . ."[2]

The issue is raised here not as a plea for intellectual chastity but rather to suggest enhanced sensitivity to the problems and interests we finally choose as bedfellows. For the issue is not so much these liaisons per se as it is their selective nature. All too often the golden rains that fall from government, foundations and the corporate world have watered highly circumscribed areas within the academy. As Frank Pinner has argued, intellectual pursuits commanding the overwhelming proportion of such benificence have been primarily consensual in nature, i.e., mathematics, the natural and physical sciences,engineering, medicine, etc.-- knowledge and disciplines "with respect to which the public at large tends to have no reservations, either as to the competence of the scholars and the truth of their findings or as to the values which inform their work."[3] And, I would add, which flow from their work. Nor is there gainsaying the fact that such inquiry, embedded as it is within the traditional university department and the research institute, has made possible the systematic disclosure and understanding of our physical world. Such is the blood that nourishes our unparalleled success in extracting technological application from scientific discovery.

Unfortunately, however, though it is hardly surprising, much, perhaps most, of society's increasing social chaos now derives from that very success. Only now, without real coherence and direction, have the dissensual disciplines -- the social sciences, ethics, etc., "whose value and procedures are widely questioned among the public, either explicitly or implicitly"[4] -- been financially encouraged and programmatically consulted in the push to "solve urban problems." Depressing irony: the university, that great bastion of dispassionate rationality, having participated all too willingly in the creation of those sophisticated means with which we manipulate our physical environment, is now called upon to produce the socio-philosophical knowledge and controls that might give it direction.

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[2]Ibid., p. 57.

[3]Frank Pinner, "The Crisis of the State Universities: Analysis and Remedies," The American College, ed. by Nevitt Sanford, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1962), p. 943.

[4]Ibid.

The Power of Definition

Dilemmas inhere at this point. Technology is, virtually by definition, organized around the manipulation of physical "laws" or principles, not the least of which is a basic agreement as to objective, and is normally propelled by the prospect of financial gain. It is, in short, the creation of "things," however sophisticated.

Social malaise and its amelioration, on the other hand, involves none of these with any precision. Agreed-upon social "laws" are preciously few in number; social objectives vary wildly, depending upon many and complex variables (not all of which are clearly understood); and we finally manipulate not things but institutions and people. Yet such distinctions have too frequently been ignored or misunderstood by the public, policy-maker and university alike, and only imperfectly has "man discover[ed] . . . that he cannot use his huge new energy resources nor his hardware technologies to cope with his new social uncertainties."[5]

Hence, one can hardly fault those who clamor for university "involvement" if that selfsame institution remains mindlessly committed to client relationships with the politically adept and economically powerful. Regardless of rhetoric, no one really seems seriously to suppose that such relationships are amenable to radical alteration; society's overweening reliance upon higher education as the critical, essential source of trained manpower and professional competence seemingly guarantees continued expansion of and diversified demand from these deeply entwined linkages. As Senator J. William Fulbright gloomily argues, universities have not only failed as a self-conscious "counterweight to the military-industrial complex," they have "joined the monolith, adding greatly to its power and influence."[6]

Yet that is precisely the issue at hand. University autonomy is a question of choice. The power to analyze and relate, the demand that empirical data and theoretical integration are crucially primary

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[5]Stewart Marquis, "Ecosystems, Societies, and Cities," American Behavioral Scientist, July-August 1968, p. 12.

[6]J. William Fulbright, "The Military-Industrial-Academic Complex" (Paper distributed to Fellows of the Society for Religion in Higher Education), p. 2. The uninformed, the skeptic or the university apologist are invited to examine any one of several competent, revealing, and to my mind depressing accounts of academic complicity. See, e.g., James Ridgeway, The Closed Corporation (New York: Random House, 1968); Noam Chomsky, "The Menace of Liberal Scholarship," The New York Review, January 2, 1969; or The Dissenting Academy, ed. by Theodore Roszak (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967).

in the ordering of myriad, often conflicting social perception -- each of these qualities (and they may well constitute the academy's singular pretension to uniqueness among societal structures generally) seem grievously faulted when this power to choose, to reconceptualize and reformulate, is sacrificed in the name of governmental-university cooperation. The appeals are many, of course, and often disarmingly seductive: national security, the "urban crisis," the "public interest" (the possibilities appear endless) -- appeals whose intrinsic validity has often appeared self-evident. And we have, in the thinly-veiled pursuit of research funding, simply accepted with minimal questioning society's own understanding of what is needed.[7] But that model is simply no longer adequate. Pinner states it well:

> The business of the university is the advancement of knowledge. We do not advance knowledge measurably by passing out nostrums for various types of malaise. . . . Above all, we are gravely at fault if we accept the public's own definition of its problems and try to solve these as they are presented to us.[8]

Indeed. But I think more is implied in Pinner's statement than recognition of public fallibility, for finally at base is the power

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[7]One may, certainly, conclude otherwise. Melvin Tumin, for example, argues that university research dating to the 1940's clearly anticipated our present racial travail, only to encounter minimal recognition and usage within governmental planning and policy bodies. "Research on Racial Relations," The American Sociologist, May 1968, pp. 117-24. Tumin's argument, primarily designed apparently, to "render preposterous the common allegations of ivory-tower escapism by academic scientists," is generally persuasive. It must be noted, however, that Tumin describes a very small academic segment and a clearly delineated subject area. Too (and of central import), he admits that "almost no major works" appear in the 1955-64 interval because of "political considerations." Alas, that is the point. No one doubts that within any significant area of scholarly endeavor, academicians have labored long and, often, gloriously. But hardly vitiated is the general assertion that faculty have discerned remarkable congruity between their own interests and those of government and industrial funding sources. For a dispiriting account of the more primitive forms political intervention may assume, see P. F. Lazarsfeld and Wagner Thielens, Jr., The Academic Mind: Social Scientists in a Time of Crisis (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1958).

[8]Pinner, op. cit., p. 952.

that inheres in the very act of defining. What, after all, is a social problem? So to identify a particular aspect of social phenomena is to abstract from the whole, to set apart and reclassify, to draw attention to what otherwise would be deemed as normal, and to at least implicitly seek its alteration. But each of these steps is impossible without recourse to judgmental factors, the criteria for which may vary enormously. For all human action is social. The power to define what shall be called "abnormal" or "a problem" is to direct, obviously, the structure and process of solution, which itself alters the larger social body. Hear John Seeley:

> How legislative and consequential such definitions may and must be is illustrated by the alternatives, as for example, in defining delinquency (as against, say, parental neglect or poverty) to be a "social problem," or unemployment (as against, say, idleness or vagabondage or vagrancy). Even before study, reporting, or recommendation of a "solution," the very cutting <u>out</u> of the problem in conversation, insofar as it reaches . . . is a cut <u>in</u> and reorganization <u>of</u> the society.[9]

This question of the power to name and define assumes supreme importance in the study of urbanization where dissensual knowledge, the study of intricate human relationships and the values, attitudes, beliefs, etc. which sustain them constitute the "stuff" of academic inquiry. Everybody "knows" of the "Negro revolution," but the dimensions given it often differ grotesquely: poverty, lack of equal opportunity, substandard schools, discrimination, Communist subversion, riots, denial of fundamental dignity, Black Power, "sumthin fur nutin" (to suggest but nine possible variables from a nearly infinite universe of possibilities). Yet the very act of choosing among them both sets and limits the possible modes of resolution. To state the trivially obvious, belief that "riots" are the result of "Black Power" or "Communist subversion" introduces corrective action quite at variance with the belief that riots are rooted in "denials of fundamental dignity."[10]

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[9]John Seeley, "The Problem of Social Problems," <u>The Americanization of the Unconscious</u> (Palo Alto, Calif.: Science and Behavior Books, 1967), p. 146.

[10]"Hitler recently gave us a sufficiently graphic demonstration of the political motive and effect of his freedom to name, define and specify the solution of what he termed 'the Jewish problem'." <u>Ibid</u>., p. 147.

Yet these widely diverse perceptions and frames of understanding compete for the attention of not only academicians but legislators, social agencies, interested citizens -- all who seek to understand and order their immediate worlds. To stress the point, it is this maelstrom of conflicting voices within which the university, by virtue of its commitments to objectivity, rationality, and choice, might significantly guide and modify the limited and/or self-serving definition and perspectives of its publics. As Pinner argues, "Indeed, our responsibility to the community would be meaningless if we did not accept this burden."[11] So, too, Daniel P. Moynihan:

> Government, especially liberal government, that would attempt many things very much needs the discipline of skeptical and complex intelligence repeatedly inquiring "What do you mean?" and "How do you know? . . ."[12]

And Lee Rainwater:

> One way of resisting the many, many blandishments of power is to keep clearly in focus . . . that the real "client" is not the governors but the governed. This requires not only developing knowledge that will further the needs and aspirations of the governed, but also developing sharply critical analyses of the failure of governors to realize such goals.[13]

These considerations are certainly not exhaustive. The fig leaf of "autonomy" now, as ever, imperfectly shields the self-serving professionalism, individual aggrandizement and trivial irrelevancies

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[11]Pinner, op. cit., p. 954.

[12]Daniel P. Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding (New York: The Free Press, 1969), p. 192.

[13]Lee Rainwater, reviewing The Uses of Sociology, ed. by Paul F. Lazarsfeld, et al. (New York: Basic Books, 1967), in the American Sociological Review, August 1968, p. 622. As has been suggested above, Rainwater's "governors" must be broadly understood to include not only the ostensibly political but likewise that vast world of industrial corporate action which, its enormous powers of socio-physical transformation notwithstanding, is still defended as essentially private.

that too often characterize the academic life.[14] Need we also suggest that careful observation and analysis are hardly academic monopolies? Too, redefining "social problems" requires an intimate conversancy with social reality, with those who formulate and act upon social policy. Yet, as numerous commentators have amply demonstrated, such "conversation" has been conspicuously minimal, if need and possibility be invoked as standards.

Qualifiers such as these scarcely obviate our fundamental premise. Universities remain, however imperfectly, the one institution in our society that, as Robert Engler phrases it, "could illuminate the historical and social context of private discontent," offering the "time and resources for the pursuit of questions and approaches which would develop an understanding of how we arrived at the present malaise."[15] And in no area does this appear more critical than urban affairs.

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[14]See, e.g., Robert C. Wood, "The University's New Role in Urban Research." (Address presented to the Association of Urban Universities, Detroit, November 1967.)

[15]Robert Engler, "Social Science and Social Consciousness," Roszak, ed., op. cit., p. 186.

III. THE CITY AS SYSTEM

Thus far I have argued only -- and it may be a great deal -- that a sense of relative autonomy and a constant redefining of social reality inhere, virtually by definition, within any conception of academic life that entertains the primacy of rational inquiry; it is a vital precondition and assumption underlying the further questions of "what," of conceptualizations or models giving structure and content to the institutional arrangements that universities establish within the urban context. It is that "model," offered as a tool or scheme to usefully guide the selection, ordering and analysis of relevant variables within an almost unlimited, often chaotic context that is addressed in the remaining pages.

The Problem of "Wholes"

One of the obvious features characterizing most traditional thought about and study of cities has been its piecemeal nature, the treating (at least operationally) of individual urban phenomenon as disparate, self-contained entities. Housing, transportation, highways, schools, public health (usually), local government, urban renewal, minority problems (sometimes) -- all are standard components in any city planner's vocabulary. This procedure has, to be sure, a compelling plausibility, strengthened in large measure by inadequate knowledge and the immediate necessities of limited objectives. Nor does the planner stand alone. On the contrary, university disciplines and specializations, following their own practical logic, have done little to create or sustain useful interdisciplinary research and action. Increasingly, however, such fragmented approaches to the study of cities and the people in them are recognized as insufficient. The following statements from widely varying sources stress the point.

> Urban problems are so interwoven, so interdependent, that scholars can only consider them together; in other words it has been found necessary to consider the urban situation as a system in its own right, inescapably transcending the traditional disciplines.[1]

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[1]John Bodine, president, Academy of Natural Sciences, "Liberal Education for Urban Responsibility" (Paper delivered to Danforth Foundation Workshop, 1964), p. 6

> Clearly, we cannot continue to experiment in bits. . . . The city is a completely interacting system. . . .[2]

> If, as Lewis Mumford maintains, the purpose of a city is the care and nurture of human beings, each of the city's aggregate parts -- every street, school, factory, and highway -- must contribute to that care and nurture.[3]

> The most critical problem facing humanity today is an ecological one of relating human societies harmoniously to their environments. . . the knowledge of the humanities and the behavioral sciences, as well as the natural sciences, must be integrated.[4]

What each of these writers emphasizes is the intricate, interrelated nature of urban complexes. Cities are "wholes" in which very large numbers of quantities or variables interact, where situations or states of affairs in one sector or variable inexorably influence, condition and alter state of affairs in other sectors, often in subtle and unexpected ways. Exacerbating the complexity of this conception of "wholeness" is the diverse nature of the variables involved. Individuals, groups, structures, value systems, physical entities (natural and created), patterns of communication, bodies of knowledge, etc. are all subsumed under the concept of "social system." And as is evident, social system implies the concept of "environment," not only as physical but as social and cultural.

Another effort to convey this sense of totality or comprehensiveness may be observed in recent efforts to combine the traditional physical environmental emphases of ecology with systems theory, from which derives the hybrid "ecosystems."[5] Whatever the terminology employed, however, the fundamental implications are clear and

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[2]Athelstan Spilhaus, "The Experimental City," Daedalus, Fall 1967, p. 1141.

[3]Harold Gilliam, "The Fallacy of Single-Purpose Planning," Daedalus, Fall 1967, p. 1192.

[4]S. Dillon Ripley and Helmut Buechner, "Ecosystem Science as a Point of Synthesis," Daedalus, Fall 1967, p. 1192.

[5]For recent and useful discussion of "ecosystem," see American Behavioral Scientist, July-August 1968.

paramount: the issues which confront men in the urban setting must increasingly be understood from the wider perspectives of both the physical and social sciences, the relationships not only of man and man, and man and nature, but man and man through nature. One simple example may suffice: "The movement of radioactive particles or DDT through plants and non-human animals into man -- who released these contaminants in the first place -- is an ecosystem phenomenon."[6]

Concern for interdisciplinary understanding of ecosystems is not, conceptually, of particularly recent vintage. But the urgent nature of current "problems," the relative bankruptcy of policies and programs based upon "single-purpose" planning, the desultory, depressing,

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[6]Ripley and Buechner, op. cit., p. 1195. This point is not, apparently, self-evident. In his otherwise useful essay, Gideon Sjoberg not only expresses "many reservations" relative to Lewis Mumford's emphasis upon accommodations to nature, but he then asserts that "the major problems facing modern urbanites . . . are essentially struggles not of man against nature but of man against man." See his chapter, "Theory and Research in Urban Sociology" in The Study of Urbanization, ed. by Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schore (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967). At a primitive level, this either/or seems adequate enough: shelter, plagues, floods, "wrestling food from the mother earth," etc. are not generally immediate concerns of the "urbanite." But use of "against" obscures the far more vital questions of systematic exploitation, of environmental manipulation undreamed of until very recently, and the manner in which such manipulation deeply affects our fellows. We do not see how meaningful disjunctions are finally possible between man and his natural environment if an understanding of society is our objective. As Rene Dubos has observed, "just as important for maintaining human life is an environment in which it is possible to satisfy the longing for quiet, privacy, independence, initiative, and some open space. These are not frills or luxuries but real biological necessities." "Man's Unchanging Biology and Evolving Psyche," Center Diary: 17 (Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions), March-April 1967, pp. 40-41. Or, perhaps more poetically; "Plant life has constituted an enormous dowry upon which man draws for his metabolism. . . . If we stopped to think how dependent we are upon this rich and active 'wife,' perhaps we would treat her less boorishly and with some reverence." Bertrand de Jouvenel, "Some Musing," Technology and Human Values (Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1966), pp. 39-40. What Sjoberg appears to have overlooked is the vital third category: man and man through his environment. We need hardly point out here the relevance of these considerations for Potomac Basin development, sound land use, etc.

effects of Alfred Kahn's "tyranny of small decisions," have each vividly dramatized the necessity for "holistic" approaches in actuality. Too, only in the past decade has the requisite data-processing capability of computers, the electronic storage and retrieval of enormous amounts of information, been placed at the disposal of physical and social scientists. It is not, to be sure, altogether certain that such concerns and capabilities even now permit us to comprehend such enormously complex metropolitan centers as New York or Los Angeles in any sense of totality.[7] Given the sheer weight of numbers, the many and competing political jurisdictions, the decades of indifference to social decay and blight, many critics have concluded, as does John Wilkinson, that "diagnosis is possible but not therapy . . . city planning can palliate for a certain short season but cannot cure even the most radical surgery."[8]

We must finally conclude, however, if only on faith, that such judgments are premature. Metropolitan regions are not, after all, "of a piece." Significant variations in age, history, proximity to other urbanized centers, centrality within a region, governmental competence and complexity, per capita income, indeed, a city's "psyche" -- each of these indices, drawn at random from the grab-bag of possibilities, supports the possibility that the processes of urbanization, and the social dislocations seemingly inherent within them, may yet be amenable to systematic analysis and reasoned action. But how?

What it Seems to Mean

I profess neither competence nor interest in recounting the very considerable debate "systems" theorists are presently waging. As Daniel Bell has noted, "The word 'system' by now has the widest and most varied use of all the terms in the new intellectual vocabulary."[9]

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[7]It is significant, perhaps, that the "recently-announced" HUD-OE-funded "urban observatory" program very early eliminated from participatory consideration the cities of New York, Chicago and Los Angeles; ". . . the three cities I named were left out due to their very large size and complexity." Patrick Healy, "City-University Cooperation: The Urban Observatory Concept" (Speech presented to Intergovernmental Seminar on Federal Statistics for Local Government Use, Washington, D. C., October 1968).

[8]John Wilkinson, "Futuribles: Innovation vs. Stability," Center Diary: 17, March-April 1967, p. 24.

[9]Daniel Bell, The Reforming of General Education (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), p. 81.

Nor shall I presume to theory building, being quite content to observe and react from the periphery. My concerns here partake of a perspective, a commitment, a way of viewing the reality that surrounds us. For even now, however much we acknowledge an essential and pervasive human interdependence in the language we use, most social action remains uninformed by it.

Two or three critical aspects of nearly all systems thought as they relate to the discussion at hand might therefore be noted. John Eberhard provides a useful introduction:

> When we use the word system . . . we mean to describe a way of doing something. But it is not just any way. There is a built-in intention, or promise, that through the process relevant factors may be detected and evaluated and predictable results expected.[10]

"Relevant factors:" that is a central theme, for by definition, and ecosystem embraces all of the salient aspects of social interaction within a given physical environment. As S. Dillon Ripley and Helmut Buechner state:

> [It is] the human-society-plus-environment level of integration. . . . We are as much concerned with human society itself as with the environments in which men live; both are parts of an interacting whole that evolves as a unit through time.[11]

At least two generative phrases emerge from this statement and seem to require additional comment: "interacting whole" and "unit through time."

1. One vital element in any conceptualization of systems is that of "interacting whole," for it suggests knowledge of consequences, and understanding of relationships and secondary effects in one sector of the system occurring from primary action or stimulation in another. Yet we do not, customarily, think in terms that treat such "interacting" with sufficient sophistication. Consider, for example, the following set of depressing trends and conditions identifiable within the Washington metropolitan area by any sensitive, reasonably well-informed observer:

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[10]John P. Eberhard, "A Humanist Case for the Systems Approach," American Institute of Architects Journal, July 1968, pp. 35-36.

[11]Ripley and Buechner, op. cit., p. 1194.

Residential separation by race, occurring in a context of ghetto enlargement, limited out-migration along well-defined corridors, etc.

Increasing racial tensions.

Rapid suburban growth dominated by a "sprawl" pattern of development.

Limited change in District and suburban governmental structure and functions, with a concomitant lack of clearly articulated federal policies regarding D.C. governance; the result is an ad hoc and seemingly, capricious, political system.

An absence of elected local government in the District of Columbia.

Increased social and economic specialization of both city and suburbs, with substantial suburbanization of business and employment.

Increased congestion; affecting people, land use, housing, traffic, general environmental pollution.

An auto-dominated transportation system.

Increasing conflict over social goals and objectives.

Revenue shortages and maldistribution of expenditures.

Growing shortages of skilled administrative, professional and technical personnel, particularly within the public sector.

Severe disparities in human resources development.

Lack of urban and metropolitan perspectives in public school and university curricula.

Deterioration of inner-city public education.

Now, there is little doubt that each may be, indeed occasionally has been, described and analyzed in useful fashion, by which our vision

of the metropolis is somewhat the greater. Of equally critical importance, however, is an impressive arrange of countervailing trends and forces also identifiably present within the Washington context, not the least of which appear to be, to wit:

A stable economy, derived in no small measure from the federal presence, and the retarding effect this exerts upon central-city economic decline.

Very high median levels of education and family income.

An unusually small number of governmental jurisdictions and a strong Council of Governments.

Large numbers (both comparatively and absolutely) of middle and upper income-level Negro families.

Relatively low suburban resistance to Negro entry, accompanied by recent adoption in several suburban counties of comprehensive open-housing legislation.

The immediate presence and example of three important "new town" experiments -- Reston, Columbia, and Fort Lincoln.

A strong two-party system in most suburban local governments.

A regionally-based Urban Coalition.

A great diversity and depth of professional talent in urban affairs.

The potential development of a regional rapid transit system.

An increasing university concern for the Washington community.

Alas, having set forth this reasonably comprehensive summary description, it is not altogether certain that much has been contributed to our "urban perspective," for the crunch occurs at precisely the point of our inadequacies: how, and to what effect, do these trends and forces intersect? Even if both accountings were exhaustive (they are obviously not), we seem now to have no means through which such wildly varying phenomena might be systematically orchestrated into coherent images. Each has, no doubt, a vitality and importance in its own right. Each requires careful identification and subsequent description. They are finally useful, however,

at least within the context of rational social change, to the extent that each is appreciated in its relationship to, as it impinges upon, other conditions and systems that collectively and in interaction comprise the Washington metropolitan area. Within the District, the federal presence, the 70 percent Negro population and the lack of home rule (to suggest but three), exhibit an as yet unspecified importance for the ecosystem as a whole in ways probably unique to this situation. But where is the institutional arrangement explicitly committed to systematically unraveling the consequential interrelationships these descriptive statements suggest?

To be sure, much of social science ostensibly analyzes urban complexity, but within the truncated world of disciplinary activity, even the best of our intentions have frequently given birth to offspring unloved and neglected by the wider world. Could it be otherwise? Perhaps so. As we have argued above, no societal institution so nearly embraces the range of what is known as does the modern university, and it is precisely that range that is now so centrally necessary if "interacting whole" is to become more than a fond wish.[12]

2. The second point -- "unit through time" -- suggests that we must find alternatives to the usual formulations of "urban problems" and "solutions" as discrete entities, isolatable and solvable within a closed context.[13] Such imagery derives from analogy to a piecemeal technology, and imbibes of the notion that for each "problem" there must by definition be a "solution." For reasons that are by now self-evident, it appears to be much more fruitful to utilize the language, and the required research orientations, of "processes" and their understanding and manipulation through time. This, in turn, places an emphasis upon observation,

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[12]Considerations such as these account in significant measure for the Washington Center's pioneering work with systemic gaming as a means whereby complex urban phenomena might be studied without constant recourse to that standard academic disclaimer: "Now if all else be held equal. . . ." For brief descriptions of the Center's work, see "Simulated Games for School Planning Anticipated," The School Administrator (American Association of School Administrators), November 1968; and "Urban Planners Play a Game Called City I," Business Week, November 16, 1968.

[13]This issue is perhaps nowhere more succinctly illustrated than with reference to the first sentence of Title I of the 1965 Higher Education Act: "For the purpose of assisting the people of the United States in the solution of community problems such as . . ." [emphasis added]. What follows is the standard recitation: "housing, poverty, government, recreation, employment. . . ."

upon analysis, and upon relationships as the essential pre-conditions to planned change. "Solution" is thus understood as manipulation of points in time where processes or "systems" may be altered, their direction shifted, and where emphasis is placed upon the prediction of consequences and secondary effects that such shifts and alterations provoke in other sectors of the ecosystem.

I acknowledge, of course, that such predictability has proved consistently illusive, even when consciously attempted. The essential difficulty seems fairly evident; most social science research, controlled as carefully as theory and circumstances permit, must finally be couched in carefully guarded language, which states that under conditions A, B and C, result X may be anticipated. Prediction is based upon inductive probability, upon a series of individual observations in which X was found to occur or exist if certain necessary preconditions were also present. Built-in limitations thus obtain. Social experiments or observations of a given set of phenomenon are never completely repeatable, for example. Nor do they provide, usually, insight into alternatives; extrapolation and projection of what is observed thus become the cornerstone of social forecasting. The almost trivially obvious objection within a systems context, however, insists that such extrapolation contains no provisions for the introduction of the novel, the unexpected, the system-generated "feedback." Indeed, the very act of description is itself a form of feedback, an altering of the subject matter. As Seeley points out, "You cannot describe a culture when every description is by definition in the culture as soon as it is made."[14]

Still, most social research emphasizing the quantifiable has been conducted across large samplings at a given moment in time, and while descriptively useful, such studies -- sociography -- are by their very nature cross-sectional and static, and we can, normally, only infer the dynamics involved. Correlations we thus have in happy abundance, but only fools and the peculiarly gifted presently speak of causality.[15]

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[14]Seeley, Americanization of the Unconscious, p. 153.

[15]For a particularly interesting encounter, see Daedalus, Summer 1967, which issue is entitled Toward the Year 2000: Work in Progress. Likewise, for two useful discussions of these questions as intruders into the social science camp, see Wilbert Moore, "The Utility of Utopias," American Sociological Review, December 1966; and Henry Winthrop, "The Sociologist and the Study of the Future," The American Sociologist, May 1968.

This no longer seems acceptable. It is possible to argue, and some do, that at some earlier point in human history the tempo and pace of societal change, the time-lapse between invention and widely-adopted usage, provided sufficient periods of time for absorption and stabilizing accommodation. Alas, no more. Rene Dubos states the problem well:

> One of the alarming aspects of environmental pollution is that despite all the new powers of science, or rather because of them, man is rapidly losing control over his environment. He introduces new forces at such a rapid rate, and on such a wide scale, that the effects are upon him before he has a chance to evaluate their consequences. In short, the techniques available for developing new means of action are far more powerful than those available for recognizing the long-range biological (and social) effects of new technological innovations. This is the price of social change and of technological growth.[16]

An almost classic example must be the city of Los Angeles, having become a complete hostage of the automobile before discovering that this same invention was the principal offender in the production of smog. Not quite so apparent, but presently inflicting untold, unprecedented and inadequately understood change throughout society is the ubiquitous "electronic age;" the supersonic airliner will be another.

The crucial nature of our ability to look ahead is further honed through a closer examination of "time" and the meaning of "past" and "future" within a technological context. As Wilkinson argues, much of which we continue to imagine as future is for purposes of effective control now past. Points in time -- "due dates" -- constantly occur, beyond which rational prevision is no longer possible. To illustrate: no supersonic transport will fly in this country for another four or five years, but we have long since passed its "due date," the point at which fundamental questions of priority, of physical and psychic sonic damage, might have altered the outcome.[17] As Bertrand de Jouvenel suggests, "There is a continual dying of possible futures. And two mistakes are common: to be unaware of them while they are, so to speak, alive, and to be unaware of their death when they have

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[16]Dubos, op. cit., p. 42.

[17]Others have taken rather pointed exception to the SST as an adequate example. It is indeed possible, they insist, that the U. S.

been killed off by lack of discovery."[18] Both of these questions -- prediction and time -- have immediate implications for the study of ecosystems, not the least of which is controlled, purposely-planned social research and sophisticated attention to distinguishing, in effect, between what is already "past" and what is (whenever in "actual" time) "future" and still amenable to "with a little good fortune" control.

The Question of Experimentation

From whence shall come, then, such prediction and purposely-planned research? How to move one's emphases from static, cross-sectional survey to dynamic, longitudinal analysis of situations? Social progress, we often insist, should ideally flow from orderly, rational consideration of alternatives. Change within the ecosystem would occur only as the intrusive, newly-created element or factor had been, as it were, pre-tested, introduced as an experiment. In such fashion, thus, would comparative evaluations be possible with existing arrangements, procedures or structures. This type of social analysis, referred to by George Fairweather as "experimental social innovation," occurs, of course, at the present time, though on a limited scale and in specialized settings. In their concern for knowledge about the system generally, however, universities, through an ecosystem-oriented institutional arrangement, might well employ such experimentation on a wide and sustained scale. Fairweather, for example, utilizing the sociological concept of "marginal man," argues that there exists "the urgent need to establish entire social subsystems that will define new and meaningful statutes" for such individuals "so that they can become an integral part of society." But, he goes on:

> . . . these proposed social subsystems do not exist in society today. Accordingly, new subsystems must be created and evaluated in order to ascertain their

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government and relevant aircraft manufacturers may yet be dissuaded from construction of such an airplane. I profoundly hope they are correct; I do not believe they are. As is common knowledge, both the Soviet Union and a British-French consortium have supersonic prototypes now flying. Given the enormous financial realities of modern air travel (sales of a U. S. manufactured craft to foreign carriers have been estimated to potentially involve upwards of fifty billion dollars before 1985) and the unsubtle crudities of national prestige, I know of no precedent upon which to ground our hope of forestalling this ill-conceived venture.

[18]Quoted in Wilkinson, op. cit., p. 18.

> effectiveness in meeting the problems of such marginal persons. And it is just such comparative evaluations that social innovative experiments can be designed to perform.[19]

In detailed fashion, the necessary procedures and controls are discussed, the range of research competencies required is set forth, and a number of hypotheses are suggested. Conceptually, at least, it requires relatively little vision to imagine how these same carefully defined subsystem experiments could be designed and tested in other segments of the ecosystem. In effect, the ecosystem becomes a vast social laboratory for the purposes of investigating new subsystems.

Permit me recourse to personal experience for an illustrative instance of the experimental subsystem notion, drawn from Tulsa, Oklahoma's application for participation in the Model Cities program. Projected over a five-year period was the development of a school whose clientele was to have been drawn almost exclusively from Tulsa's Negro ghetto. In it a complex series of programs and teaching techniques were to have been utilized in ways quite unlike those presently standard throughout the programs of the Tulsa public school system.[20] Not controlled in any manner by the local school "establishment" (who for a very long time have been rehearsed to insist they already inhabit the best of all possible worlds), it would have afforded an exceedingly useful, controlled counterpart to present practice. Implicated were, certainly, "innovative" educators. But additionally, and crucially, the sociologist, the psychologist, the political scientist, the architect, the materials engineer, etc. were also seen to be integral to the design and execution of any such program.[21]

Other possibilities abound. Decentralization and community control of public schools and the proposed fragmentation of police

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[19]George W. Fairweather, Methods for Experimental Social Innovation (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967), p. 10. This entire volume is highly useful to anyone seriously concerned with social research. The experimental centers he advocates appear too narrowly defined for the broader purposes suggested throughout this paper, but any ecosystems oriented urban center must, I would think, include at least what Fairweather conceptually presents. See especially chapter 14, p. 213ff.

[20]See "Application . . . for a Grant to Plan a Comprehensive City Demonstration Program" (Tulsa, Okla., 1967), Part III, F, pp. 1-9.

[21]I use the past tense here; at this writing, although Tulsa was among the initial group of cities selected for participation, the experimental school appears to have been quietly dropped.

departments are but two of the more pressingly visible alternatives presently under serious discussion. Are these viable means in the quest for justice and sense of community? Under what circumstances and in what fashion might they advantageously be utilized? And the latencies residual in such action? With Moynihan, we seem compelled to admit that "evidence is fragmented, contradictory, incomplete. . . . Community control might improve the school performance of slum children. It might not. No one knows."[22] We ought to find out, and under circumstances less than cataclysmic.

The Academic Response

It can be charged that throughout the argument thus far, simple ideas have been unnecessarily clothed in difficulty. Perhaps so. Concern for the whole of urban complexity, in which we speak of process, of interrelatedness and interdependence as movement through time, does indeed partake of common sense. Why, then, one may be pardoned for asking, has serious and systematic inquiry, based upon systems thinking and experimentation, remained so illusive?

Which returns us to the fundamental question: in what respect(s) does the academic community and its related institutions' unique combinations of knowledge and intellectual resources most adequately "serve" the urban context? To which we have responded: the purposes of universities and society are most adequately addressed when attention is devoted to "wholeness," to the crucial longer-term consequences of rapid technological and social innovation, to the social (and financial) costs which have accompanied even our best efforts at systematic planning and execution. Universities and research centers will, as no doubt they should, continue to perform single-purpose studies and services for clients financially able to commission such activities. But industry and government have both moved rather headily into this fertile (it seems assumed) area, providing universities and centers a useful opportunity to think and visualize beyond the immediate and partial. Transportation is, to be sure, an "urban problem," as are "crime," and "poverty," and "physical decay." So, too, are those relative intangibles subsumed under amorphous phrases as "the good life," environmental aesthetics, the amenities of quiet and privacy; in short, those features of the ecosystem which give quality and meaning to human existence. But where shall concern for this intricate calculus be systematically explored and expressed if not within institutional arrangements dedicated to such purposes?

The practical problems imposed by such considerations are, of course, immense. It is probable that no institution, university or

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[22] Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, p. 191.

otherwise, in Washington or elsewhere, presently commands the technical competencies and financial resources required for the study of metropolitan systems as suggested here. Nor does this concept as yet contain the theoretical clarity necessary to identify, much less systematically analyze, all of the relevant subsystems an ecosystems is by definition presumed to embrace. Too, the ostensible academic vogue presently enjoyed by notions of "interdisciplinary" still seems rather honored in the breach. Limitations of time, finances, teaching load, departmental prerogatives, the disciplinary tongues in which we speak, etc. -- each imposes its own, often conflicting logic upon more widely conceived endeavors, and sustained work of a truly interdisciplinary nature remains a rarity.

There can be no doubt nonetheless, that significant number of academicians are now or wish to be at work on issues and concerns that transcend traditional disciplinary borders -- academicians who actively speak of structural alternatives or complements to the departmental system, who speak of increased sensitivity within the academic "community" to the metropolitan scene of which it is, acknowledged or no, a part.[23]

This is not, let it be noted, yet another contribution to the now fashionable "let's-lay-it-to-the-university." We do not doubt that substantial institutional reformation must occur within the academy and soon (that has been much of the argument to this point), but far too frequently the critics of higher education have seen it of a piece, have failed to parse adequately the exceedingly complex elements comprising the generic "university." Thus, description is offered and demands are made, much of it seemingly premised upon the assumption that universities are bureaucratic monoliths susceptible to imposed direction and militant opposition. One hears "The university" this . . ., "The university" that . . ., when in actuality, Alma Mater is pregnant with centers, colleges, institutes, professional schools, departments, graduate schools, deans, provosts, presidents, researchers, vice-presidents for academic affairs and vice-presidents for business matters, directors of university relations, great men and obscure men, senior faculty (some of whom teach), junior faculty (most of whom must), almost faculty (Ph.D. candidates), part-time faculty

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[23]As one significant aspect of the Center's 1968 "Feasibility Study," designed to explore existing and potential university-community relationships, a rudimentary inquiry was mailed to all full-time faculty in the Washington area. Through this instrument nearly 400 individuals responded with specific expressions of interest in "urban affairs." See Elden Jacobson, Urban Affairs and Washington Area Faculty: A Preliminary Inquiry (Mimeographed, Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, 1968).

and faculty who are part-time, faculty on the make and faculty who have it made, offices for alumni affairs, offices for admissions, committees, committees and committees, dormatories, book stores, student unions, faculty clubs (sometimes), and students who study, students who think they do, and students who play football, all of it in Jacques Barzun's words, "incessantly buzzing and booming. . . ."[24]

And that is merely internal; this semantic gossamer must bridge the vastness between those that are -- the Harvards and the Berkeleys -- and those that pretend to be -- the Langstons and the North Central States.

The point really comes to no more than this: however compelling the logic, radical transformation of "The university" -- its components, its goals, its operative myths and procedures -- seems not at all a live possibility. The much more likely, indeed the more rational, expectation is that elements within the academy -- particular departments, faculty, interested students and bedeviled administrators -- whose sensitivities move them to concern for our urban environments, can be willingly coalesced into alternatives to present practice. And these alternatives, to recapitulate yet again, will be so structured that disparate faculty and students are placed within working relationships with groupings throughout the metropolitan area, and committed to the definition and analysis of systems through time.

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[24]Jacques Barzun, The American University (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 12. For all its patrician self-certainty, Barzun's latest literary triumph goes far in expressing the intricacies of that amorphous entity we so knowingly call the "university."

IV. THE CITY AS GOALS

Where Are We Going?

> From the train of moving seats . . . in the darkest building, a visitor looks down on a miniature landscape far away . . . and finally he beholds the city itself with its quarter-mile-high towers, huge glass, and soaring among them four-level, seven-lane directional highways on which you can surely choose your speed -- 100, 200 miles an hour. The city of 1960 has abundant functions: fresh air, fine green parkways, recreational centers, all results of plausible planning and design. . . . Parks will occupy one third of the city area . . . what new horizons lie before us. What have both the initiative and imagination to penetrate them.[1]

Such is the way New York's 1939 World's Fair visualized the 1960's. How, one asks (with no small hint of incredulity), did we go so askew? Writing recently in the New York Times, Homer Bigart reported: "so brutal has been the impact on city life of some of the completed expressways that the Federal Government has cautioned cities against hasty planning that ignores aesthetic, social and economic considerations."[2]

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[1]Quoted by Daniel Bell, "The Nature and Limitations of Forecasting," Daedalus, Summer 1967, p. 947.

[2]Homer Bigart, "U. S. Road Plans Periled by Rising Urban Hostility," New York Times, November 5, 1967. Bigart goes on to describe an "urban concept team" newly-organized in Baltimore (and funded with a $4.8 million federal grant), a team consisting of "architects, city planners, sociologist and economists" who, in collaboration with state highway engineers, will rethink inner-city road construction. The truly astonishing aspect of Bigart's article is the following sentence: "The objective of this team, hailed as a revolutionary concept by Secretary of Transportation Alan S. Boyd, is to anticipate all the impacts of highways before they are built: social, economic, historical, visual and functional." Perhaps simple logic and good sense are "revolutionary," at that.

These two, not entirely disparate examples illustrate a crucial point; human beings are radically ambivalent, both members of a species and unique persons, having "at one and the same time the need to be free and the need to be physically and emotionally secure."[3] Endowed with a rationality from which occasionally flows genuinely enobling forms, structures and patterns of relation, men equally display enormous capacities for indifference and narrow self-interest, and as one observer has caustically stated, "a remarkable ability to endure other people's acute discomfort." Thus, to the visionary of 1939, or the singleminded highway planner of the 1960's, it comes as a shock (although it should not) to discover that one man's studied reasonableness is to another hopelessly ideological. Personal values, priorities and aspirations, it would seem, we share in common only to the extent personal selfinterests are not seriously imposed upon by another's.

Compounding this issue of goals has been the popular American belief that most social malaise will respond to money and expertise. Major segments of American business and industry, for example, having newly discovered the "urban crisis" (to which they have long been negative contributors), now facilely speak of management efficiency and technical competence as the determinative elements in social restoration, the flavor of which may be savored in the following comments:

> I am confident that if American industry can build rockets that can fly to the moon we can also revitalize and renew our cities.[4]
>
> If industry can produce such miracles year after year, it is unreasonable to expect that the same intellect, energy, and technology be brought to bear on the problems threatening our civilization? The answer, of course, has become obvious.[5]

Such sanguineness has few constraints. Questions as complex and global as, say, population control seem cast almost solely in terms of

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[3]Kathleen Nott, "Humanism Today," Commentary, July 1958, p. 75.

[4]General B. A. Schriever (Ret.) (Quoted from a paper presented to a conference on "The Urban Challenge," Airlie House, Warrenton, Va., June 1968).

[5]Edward G. Uhl, president of the Fairchild Hiller Corporation, "The Urban Crisis: Industry's Resources, Capabilities and Response" (Paper presented to a conference on "The Urban Challenge," Airlie House, Warrenton, Va., June 1968).

economic and technological possibility, and America's agricultural and industrial capacities are believed to far remove us from the widespread famine and chaos which new-Malthusians gloomily forecast for much of the world. The most superficial considerations of these questions, however, introduces serious doubts. Population, for one, has ceased to be a simple numbers game; quantitative pressures now erode many of the qualitative psychic values educated men have long held to be vital. And with the technical complexities of the "genetic code," the principles of heredity, about to be unraveled, who will resolve (and how) the compelling issues of choice and control? Observe, too, the current ethical controversy raging around the technoligical breakthroughs of organ transplants.

We point to these admittedly dramatic examples to illustrate our contention that most serious social problems, urban and otherwise, derive quite as much from a general lack of will, from confused, often contradictory values we seek to maximize, as they do from lack of technical competence. As Harvey Perloff indicates:

> The middle-class American would like to see the urban slums cleaned out and the Great Cities built; but he also shows a strong preference for "living with his own kind."[6]

We would also prefer, other things being reasonably equal, to see air and water pollution eliminated. But things are not equal, and we have shown remarkable ineptitude and apparent disinterest when plans for correction impose financial liabilities. We doubt not at all General Schriever's contention that American industry could "revitalize and renew our urban environments" but thus far it has not, and the political conditions, legal authority, and single-minded purposiveness that he himself identified as antecedent to such environmental renewal are the stuff with which concerned citizens have long wrestled. The unavoidable conclusion, depressingly evident at all social and political strata, is the presence of pervasive ambiguities in the social values and goals from which ordered, humane change must derive.

Whether this state of affairs lacks precedent, while an interesting and debatable historical question, is strikingly beside the point now. As numerous observers of social change have stressed, in a technological society which now command the physical capacity to accomplish virtually all things, the selection of objectives becomes paramount. Morrison states the problem in the following manner:

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[6]Harvey S. Perloff, "Modernizing Urban Development," Daedalus, Fall 1967, p. 794.

> By an interesting paradox, the progress of science and technology has now demonstrated that it is not inevitable and certainly not desirable that we do everything we can do, that the choice of what to do is, in fact, our most important problem and that the ultimate basis of choice is aesthetic. We must have faith that the soundest base for aesthetic judgment is the cultivation of the best that has been known and thought.[7]

In the ecosystems concept appropriated throughout this paper, these same issues are indeed crucial; if our concern is to be genuinely qualitative, universities and institutions like the Washington Center must be the point of focus at which the ethical and aesthetic, as well as the physical, economic and political are central variables. "How to get there," the question of viable means and the technical expertise it implies, is a necessary concern in the discussion of societal change. But "Where are we going?" is the equally necessary antecedent. The clarification of goals, of ends, the positing of viable "futuribles," seems surely a concomitant of our urban expression.

This is hardly original; the classical conception of liberal education has historically insisted that, as Kenneth Underwood has somewhere written, "the creative mind deals with meanings, with knowledge that is not separate from goodness, with analysis that is not separate from involvement in the needs and possibilities of the subject of study." A life of mind and action must, in brief, encompass not only what is true, but likewise a concern for what is good and beautiful.

While my intent is simply to argue the principle that effective involvement within the life and processes of an ecosystem must of necessity embrace qualitative factors, that the value judgments all humans make do concern goals, several rather more specific aspects of the question seem apparent. One example is that of ordering, cost analysis and measurement. Most unfortunately, but surely true, active contemplation of fundamental values and objectives, private or public, is a rare commodity, a fact made painfully abundant when we, or our elected representatives, have tried to weigh the moral and aesthetic intangibles inhering in a clear sky, clean rivers, pleasing architecture, or a vestige of wilderness. For some, of course, there is no apparent problem. Such amenities have no particular meaning. Too, as Galbraith so eloquently pointed out a decade ago, we have as a nation drawn multiple disjunctions between public and private, the net result being continued growth and consumption in the private realm while those aspects of our social and physical environment held in common

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[7]Robert S. Morrison, "Education for Environmental Concerns," Daedalus, Fall 1967, p. 1223.

suffer from abuse, indifference and hostility. How to justify clean air? Aesthetically? On the basis of health? and quiet or open space or clean water?

Or, at a very different level, demands from the nation's ghettos raise anew the fundamental tensions existing between, on the one hand, the historic American insistence that people exercise some semblance of influence upon the processes and institutions controlling their lives and, on the other, the seemingly inexorable drive toward standardization, efficiency and bureaucracy. Where, in briefest sum, shall power reside?

Only the most primitive type of calculus currently exists for resolution of such questions, for comparative analysis of "goods" or values, and for determining (or balancing off) social and economic costs. Even so seemingly simple a problem within the ecosystem as pollution of the air invokes questions for which reasoned response is lacking. Having determined a basis for "How much pollution is tolerable?" (we are far from having done so), one must still resolve the issue of "who pays." And when our value questions are several levels removed, to the promised crises which leisure and work hold out for the longer-term future, to the crises which segregation and prejudice will continue to perpetuate into any foreseeable future, we seem hopelessly lost.

Numerous individuals, it is true, have occasionally sought to devise formulae or methodologies through which the multitudinous variables might be weighted and related. Any such model for social calculus, however, is inevitably based upon one or more "faith statements" or a priori assumptions about which we are far from agreement.[8] And if we were, what of the variables presumed necessary? Hence, we are never quite sure whether to applaud such efforts on the basis of

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[8]Azriel Teller, for example, has worked out an ingenious series of graphs and tables, each of which is intended as assistance in balancing cost vs. clean air. He must, however, implicitly assume that everyone has equal rights of access to air, that the right to breathe or enjoy clean air is logically equivalent to the right to foul it for monetary gain. See his article, "Air-Pollution Abatement," Daedalus, Fall 1967, pp. 1082-98. Unfortunately, the ignoring of subjective, aesthetic states or qualities, "things for their own sake," does not render them any less real or integral to the discussion. We have not, it would appear, notably advanced the problem by insisting upon some natural right to utilize air or water as open sewers.

effort, or smile at their seeming inadequacy.[9] Yet the engineer, the physical planner, the sociologist, no less than the ethicist or the aestheticist, must surely face more forthrightly the demands placed upon them by such dilemmas. The fruits of technology, and the skills necessary to their utilization, are requisite to many of our "urban crises." But until we have more systematically examined the necessity to better understand and mediate conflict, attitude and ideology, and brought them into an at least tolerable cost-benefits, gains-and-losses relationship, our efforts within the urban context (and elsewhere) will continue to sound like one hand clapping.

It could hardly be otherwise. As observed above, the very act of definition within our "urban crisis" rests upon such events or conditions as are perceived to violate our sense of "oughtness," our vision of the desirable or appropriate -- violations from which the scholar can hardly exempt himself. Yet how strange it is that these dilemmas are so seldom understood by either the clamoring public or the accommodating university. Universities are asked to "solve." Academicians respond by creating institutes and centers, each in the name of a pristine objectivity. This notion, however, has recently lost much of its virginal elegance. As Melvin Webber argues (to my mind rightly):

> Seemingly straightforward facts about a society's things and events are seldom, if ever, neutral. . . . The information supplier -- whatever his motives and methods -- is therefore inevitably immersed in politics. . . . To play the role of scientist in the urban field is also to play the role of intervener, however indirect and modest the intervention.[10]

Intervener in what? Intervention on behalf of whom? These are compelling questions, for the confusions and ambiguities of social process quickly vitiate the logical niceties we have philosophically posited between "isness" and "oughtness." To be sure, concern for and manipulation of the "value question" is commonly thought to violate academic canons regarding "objectivity" and the subsequent distinctions we posit between "scientist" (or "scholar") and "citizen," as though these accurately describe disparate components within a given personality (the word, I believe, is schizophrenia).

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[9]See, i.e., Constantine A. Doxiadis, "Anthropososmos: The World of Man" (Paper delivered at Aspen, Colorado, 1966), especially his "happiness quotient," p. 10. See also Dennis Gabor, "An Ethical Quotient," Technology and Human Values, (Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions), pp. 16-17.

[10]Melvin M. Webber, "The Study of Man," Transaction, November-December 1965, p. 41.

But the limiting influence of such distinctions seems increasingly evident. Leroy Burney of Temple University states this recognition in the following way:

> There are those within the halls of Academe who fear the involvement of the university in the life of the community; they fear that the university will lose its objectivity and its freedom. But objectivity is not nonparticipation; rather it is a specific and positive kind of participation. Objective participation is, in fact, one of the dimensions of freedom. It is freedom to act without the commitments which could prejudice perception, understanding, and evaluation.[11]

Or, to cast it another way:

> Can a value-free social science say anything about goals, or is it confined to mere instrumentation? The questions are valid enough, in principle, but I suggest that their practical significance has been exaggerated. . . . What I am suggesting is that these more or less common goals provide a sufficient basis for building preferable futures and alleviating anxieties about the "value problem"[12]

I mean no simple response to complex issues, nor do I here contravene an earlier insistence upon the university's capacity to define and clarify with such detachment and completeness as our present

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[11]Leroy E. Burney, "The University and Community Health Services," The Fifth Annual Bronfman Lecture, American Journal of Public Health, March 1966, p. 396.

[12]Wilbert E. Moore, "The Utility of Utopias," American Sociological Review, December 1966, p. 771. Many sources of similar thought are readily available. See, e.g., Seeley, Americanization of the Unconscious, especially chapters 10, 11, and 12; Martin Rein and S. M. Miller, "Poverty Programs and Policy Priorities," Transaction, September 1967, pp. 70-71; Alvin W. Gouldner, "Anti-Minotaur: The Myth of a Value-Free Sociology," Sociology on Trial, ed. by Maurice Stein and Arthur Vidich (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963); but see also his more recent cautionary statement, "The Sociologist as Partisan: Sociology and the Welfare State," The American Sociologist, May 1968, pp. 103-16.

methodologies permit. But I do suggest that meaningful urban involvement, the broad concerns implicit in "ecosystems" analysis, are not realizable apart from the processes by and through which values and goals shape, and are shaped by, that ecosystem. Information, visions of the possible, knowledge -- such are the stuff of which social power and movement are created, and it no longer seems sufficient to archly declare that concern for who does what with the scholar's knowledge is to sully our academic skirts.

Pure and Applied?

Closely allied to these issues has been the historical and judgmental disjunction (likewise inherited from models of the physical sciences) that academicians have posited between "pure" or "basic" and "applied" research, the latter a genre of activity unilaterally consigned by definition in some quarters to those incapable of "the higher calling." But here again, these categories seem grossly simplistic and inadequate.[13] Systematic examination of complex social phenomena through time, as I have sought to describe throughout this statement, does not appear possible without recourse to and interaction with those components comprising the ecosystem; which is to say, people and the systems they create. Again we do not deny that social science has all too frequently been sold to special interests for the most trivial of purposes, an abhorrence of which we share with most purists. But let us equally recognize that simple dichotomies force complicated people and complicated problems into procrustean postures doing justice to neither. Robert Wood, in discussing Robert Oppenheimer, states the issue rather well:

> One directs one's attention, he pointed out, to curiosities -- which when explained, unfailingly find application and unfailingly become things of beauty in the wonder of their construction. There is much pretentious talk about searches for truth and disclaimers of utilitarian objectives these days -- as if only Galahads and Lancelots would be permitted to recapture the Holy

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[13] What are we to make, for example, of the following: ". . . there is a clear line of ethical distinction between pure and applied research. . . . Applied research is not so important as pure research." Robert Angell, "The Ethical Problems of Applied Sociology," The Uses of Sociology, ed. by Paul F. Lazarsfeld et al. See Harold Orlans' review of this essay (and the entire volume) and its disciplinary snobbery in the American Sociological Review, August 1968, pp. 625-30.

> Grail. These philosophies do little to advance the actual state of urban knowledge.[14]

Perhaps, without belaboring the problem, we need remember that dichotomous polarities, while useful in establishing outer parameters, look grotesque indeed when distended to embrace all that lies between.

Concerns such as these, therefore, account for my conviction that scholarly description and analysis of the Washington metropolitan region must also embrace a concomitant, explicit concern for what Bernard Steinzor has called "openhearted person(s) in an open society," for the clarification of values and goals as a vitally necessary condition to rational, orderly environmental change.

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[14]Robert Wood, "The University's New Role in Urban Research" (Speech delivered to Association of Urban Universities, Detroit, November 1967).

V. THE CITY AS A LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

One cannot but marvel at Buckminster Fuller. Soothsayer, scientific wizard, social philosopher, Fuller is surely one of our time's truly creative minds, and his visions of the wonders that science and technology will wrought in an indeterminate future leave us delightfully reassured, at least temporarily. Recently discussing once again "those hitherto invisible technoeconomic world-social-force fields now looming into view," Fuller predicts not only enormous change in global economic and industrial arrangements, but from his position of "politically transcendental and industrially informed observation," the end of political discord and ideological differences can be seen swallowed up in a sea of universal opulence. Not until the article's last sentence does the tiniest cloud appear: men ought to be "properly informed."[1]

Indeed they should. However we view such prognostications, Fuller has raised at least one exceedingly critical issue. How shall men remain intelligently informed about the enormous change occurring around them? Or, within the context of this paper, what is the university's educational responsibility within our cities? Not surprisingly, an impressive variety of university-conducted educational activities are presently much in evidence. Extension courses, night-college classes, various seminars and workshops abound.[2] And in particular instances, universities have exercised leadership in controlling the physical decay lapping at their outer fringes. But Kerr's recent indictment -- "They are in the urban setting but not of it" -- seems generally difficult to refute; a judgment no less true of most university urban research centers.[3]

In light of the ecosystems concept suggested above, educational expressions for the urban context might now be significantly re-thought.

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[1]Buckminster Fuller, "Report on the Geosocial Revolution," Saturday Review, September 16, 1967, p. 31f.

[2]An expansive, notable treatment of adult education can be found in John W. Johnstone and Ramon Rivera, Volunteers for Learning: A Study of Educational Pursuits of American Adults (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965).

[3]Quoted in Fred M. Hechinger,"A Call for the 'Urban-Grant' College," New York Times, October 22, 1967.

Research, particularly experimental in nature, is obviously vital; no other group or agency presently exists for the sustained, theoretically-oriented, ecosystems analyses outlined above. But recognition that values, goals and purposes are equally integral to the system, and a commitment to resolution of the disharmonies that beset such systems, now necessitate more carefully defined lines of communication, more adequate understanding of the university's ongoing concern for the "care and nurture" of minds.

More specifically, urban education can be understood as having two broad conceptually distinct "publics" -- its own internal constituent parts (inadequately defined as faculty and students) and the external worlds of policy-makers, governmental officials and special interests (any group that seeks client relationships with some component of the academy). Each of these [illegible] and highly fluctuating categories comprises, as it were, significant subsystems within the ecosystems, acting and reacting, influencing and being influenced by other identifiable components. Each [illegible]us with "means" (information, research data, etc.) and "ends" (goals, priorities, preferences, choice). And in each, the academic world appears, at least potentially, a critical element.

The External Environment

Any discussion of systems as a mode of description and analysis contains, we have noted, numerous essential concepts: process, components, movement through time, interaction, etc. Each bespeaks the effort and desire to comprehend the dynamism of urban environments. And within such imagery, one critical aspect is "feedback" -- any influence that impels a subsystem to action. And because particular subsystems demonstrably give rise to change throughout the ecosystem, the feedback they receive becomes a critical variable to understanding. As Joseph Monane states:

> The important arbiter and judge of a new item /of change/ -- and its executioner or welcoming committee to the extent that it can -- is the power component of a social system. Its thumbs up or down appears crucial. What it sees as implementive to its present direction of system line is received warmly. What it eyes as threatening is opposed.[4]

One obvious form of feedback is information about the ecosystem itself. Robert Wood, for example, insists:

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[4]Joseph Monane, The Sociology of Human Systems (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1966), p. 137.

> A sound process of urban development depends more on the flow of critical information among a diverse group of leaders identified with separate areas of community life than it does on institutions and laws.[5]

Indeed, one observer of urban affairs holds that

> . . . perhaps the greatest single challenge in the cities is ignorance of city residents whose education has been limited and weak, but also the ignorance of well-educated people about the very urban problems they would hope to solve.[6]

No small matter, this. As the recent report of the Intergovernmental Task Force on Information Systems has dispiritingly shown, fragmented programs, lack of effective coordination, highly inefficient communications, and a general scarcity of competently trained personnel have enormously impeded any systematic sharing of information both within and among governmental jurisdictions.[7] And, as previously noted, prevailing patterns of university scholarship emphasize knowledge sought ostensibly for its own sake, or specific information or research that is client-solicited and funded. Questions of information, hence, are obviously essential aspects of the university's urban participation.

Yet, having stressed the vital nature of information, we also recognize a deceptive charm in such emphases. For we confront not only the academician's usual distain for communication beyond the guild. Perhaps unwittingly, the champions of "information" seem frequently to assume the Socratic dictum that to know the good is to do it, that information is not only a necessary but sufficient precondition to virtue. Unhappily, philosophers at least have long known better. Information as such has little meaning or significance until

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[5]Robert Wood, "The Persuasive Society: The Moral Responsibility of the University in the City," The Church Review, September 1965, p. 3.

[6]Robert L. Jacobson, "The Role of Higher Education in Solving the Urban Crises" (Published proceedings of the 1967 Morgan State College Conference on Higher Education and the Challenge of the Urban Crisis), p. 7.

[7]According to Patrick Healy, information-sharing constitutes the essential element in the HUD-National League of Cities conception of university-community relationships through the "urban observatory." (See supra, sec. III, n. 7, p. 18.)

selectively filtered and ordered within our "frames of reference" or "ways of thinking." Hence, academicians provide information, the data accumulated through research, but they have traditionally assumed little responsibility for the manner in which such information is comprehended by their various publics.

The task, therefore, lies somewhat deeper and involves the fusion of facts and information into patterns of coherence and meaning, what de Jouvenel has called "education in wiser preferences" and Leroy Burney "updating the intellectual framework." These are suggestive phrases, imploring serious concern for fundamental reconsideration of basic orientation, for openness to creative possibility. The university, as argued above, need not so often offer what people "want." We have, after all, been quite effectively conditioned, often imperceptively and ingeniously, to desire what is known and available. Rather it might well call them into increased understanding of a potential world "aesthetically and ecologically more satisfying than the one present trends promise."[8] As repository for much of humanity's collected wisdom, one could presume the university's deep and sustained endeavors toward clarification and discussion of the options we confront as a society. But as a practical matter, this has not happened. Entrapped within the boundaries of department and discipline, the academician has not only refused to acknowledge such responsibilities but, as with the university as an institution, has been at least partially victimized by the essentially specious "public" vs. "private."

University offerings to adults, thus, in the form of "continuing education" or "extension services" are overwhelmingly "private" in their rationale, emphasizing vocational training, personal enhancement or leisure time enjoyment, and again are premised upon the client's own definition of preference and need, and upon ability to pay. A trifling 4 percent, for example, of all adults now engaged in "educational pursuits" at the university level are confronting subject matter which could be termed "public affairs."[9] But that is precisely the dilemma. Personal freedom and choice have become so inexorably entwined with corporate "public" decisions, activities and effects of technologically-oriented industry and government that private decisions are potentially reduced to inconsequential minutia. Crucial decisions affecting the most fundamental and qualitative aspects of our social and physical environments are presently influenced by the wider citizenry only minimally.

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[8]Nathaniel Wollman, "The New Economics of Resources," Daedalus, Fall 1967, p. 1108.

[9]Jerome M. Zeigler, "Continuing Education in the University," Daedalus, Fall 1964, p. 1175.

The implications seem almost self-evident. Within the ecosystem, power components -- those individuals and groups who control the political and economic decision-making processes[10] -- must be actively sought out and engaged by universities, drawn into dialogue which enhances and broadens the recognition of alternatives, of restructured possibilities. And I use the adverb "actively" with intent. As a general rule, universities have been content to be sought after, to imagine that formal education is largely synonymous with physical presence on a campus or at least within a classroom. That is, I believe, inadequate. Seminars, short workshops, and the like, it is true, have been sporadically fostered in certain limited settings, but sustained efforts in which effectiveness of program design is constantly evaluated and "feedback" introduced seem rare indeed. Evaluation of the "effect" or long-range impact upon overt action of these programs seems rarer still.

The principle for which I argue is actually little more than a recognition that, within the Washington urban context, universities should much more vigorously pursue the implications of "continuing education;" that while research is indeed vital, our "publics" must be assisted in understanding its societal significance.

The Internal "Public"

Such concerns within the university context, directed toward its student "public," contain at least two distinguishable foci. The first of these is more adequately trained graduate students. Assistance to Washington area universities in the development of studies in urban affairs has been (as noted above) an ostensible function of the Washington Center since its inception. But only recently has the importance of urban studies received general recognition among the local universities (not unlike such institutions elsewhere), and little unanimity exists beyond statements of need. That the "need" exists seems an ineluctable fact, with every currently available forecast now positing manpower requirements for professionally trained "urbanologists" far in excess of the anticipated supply. Nor is the issue simply quantitative. What are the technical competencies and broadly based value considerations required (or even desirable)? And how might these be structured into an adequate and acceptable program of graduate study? As one proposal for an urban research center phrases it, "a new breed of cat" is now necessary, but higher education seems far from reasoned agreement as to who shall train such an animal and how.

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[10]Lest it be misunderstood, the use of Monane's "power components" is intended to embrace not only the more highly visible arbiters of power within the ecosystem, but likewise those groups within society systematically denied access to the more traditional forms.

To this commitment for professional training must be added another: undergraduate education that adequately reflects urbanization's overwhelming presence throughout world societies. It may indeed be the case, as some continue to argue, that man's heritage of liberal learning imposes the fundamental questions of human life and meaning, but the contexts within which this ongoing dialogue resides have most assuredly been radically restructured in recent decades. Urbanization, and the fantastic technology that fuels it, seems adequately understood only to the extent that its pervasiveness is recognized in virtually all spheres of the ecosystem. Changing, displacing, rending, violating, enhancing, uplifting, degrading -- its power and sway, in the iceberg image, are largely unseen by the casual observer or the non-critical consumer. An evermore-vocal minority of students have, of course, recognized at least partially the critical nature of these considerations and their many, often diverse indictments now seems standard furniture in the academic household. Equally standard institutional response, however -- one more "course" or, if we are tricky, an "interdisciplinary seminar" -- no longer seems at all sufficient.

Although the problem is complex, one integral consideration warrants brief discussion, calling as it does for additional emphases in the usual definition of education as the use of our cognitive faculties, the master and expansion of bodies of information. Henry David Aiken defines the problem rather precisely when he speaks of

> . . . the academician for whom knowing <u>about</u> things, rather than knowing them ever more appreciatively and discriminatingly, is the main achievement to be hoped for from the higher forms of learning.[11]

As Aiken implies, "knowing about," the formal acquisition or mastery of disciplinary subject matter, is obviously of primary importance and must (as it no doubt will) remain central to academic inquiry.

But also crucial to human motivation, action and change are those aspects of "knowing" that flow from the experiential and the affective. As Mario Fantini and Gerald Weinstein insist, education occurs most deeply when the learner emphathizes with a given subject matter, when "an emotional bond links social realities to his own intrinsic concerns," and when "at some point personal action follows thought."[12] Indeed,

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[11]Henry David Aiken, "The American University," <u>The New York Review</u>, July 17, 1966.

[12]Mario D. Fantini and Gerald Weinstein, "Social Realities and the Urban School" (Presented at the ASCD Conference, Atlantic City, N.J.,

if we have correctly understood recent student demands, it is these facets of an affective experience of participation that underlines the much abused, amorphous "relevance" so currently fashionable. Again, Aiken eloquently phrases the case:

> The issue, even in the university, is not simply that of teaching versus research, but also of one form of teaching (and hence learning), which is geared to the forms of achievements over which scientific research presides, versus others which are geared to other forms of achievement, such as moral, aesthetic, and (I should add) religious and philosophical understanding.[13]

We make no claim to know the alchemy through which urban affairs leaps the barrier from a series of courses to a prevailing perspective or way of thinking, but both the Center and the Washington area universities must devote more time and thought to such questions than has typically been the case. What many of the university's most socially-oriented, activist critics fail to appreciate is the reasonable supposition that higher education's greatest service to society may yet be a coming generation of sensitive, committed, urban-understanding students.

March 10-13, 1968). See also Fred M. Newman and Donald W. Oliver, "Education and Community," Harvard Educational Review, Winter 1967, for another interesting discussion not wholly dissimilar from the emphasis I make here.

[13] Aiken, op. cit.

VI. THE "HOW" OF IT ALL

Such are, then, the outlines we envision, a conception of university-community involvement that seeks to build upon what appear to us as fundamental attributes of higher learning. It can be stated in propositional form. University urban commitment:

1. Retains the university's traditional insistence upon the necessity for self-definition of its role, both to special-interest clients and the society at large:

2. Organizes itself around the ecosystems concept, understanding the metropolitan region to be, in some meaningful sense, "holistic." As such, competencies from the physical and social sciences, and the humanities, are by definition required for its understanding and for research designed to further that understanding.

3. Must, on occasion, seek to influence as well as understand. Hence, it willingly affirms the overt consideration of values and goals, believing that research is not only a vehicle for the discovery of data and knowledge *per se*, but is likewise a fundamental tool for assisting in the clarification of possible choices and the consequences likely attendant to them.

4. Implements this concern for a just and humane society through renewed sensitivity to the publics, both internal and external, it purports to serve, assisting each to comprehend the vast diffential that now exists between our tremendous technological capacity to create and our depressing social inability to control.

If the reasoning set forth here is essentially valid, the critical issue at this point becomes the structural mechanism through which these commitments are given form and substance. How ought universities organize themselves in these regards? How shall the student rhetoric of "relevance" be translated into experiential "doing" without loss of intellectual rigor? How shall faculty interest in both "research" and "service" be mobilized for systematic and sustained inquiry into the social dynamic we have labeled the "ecosystem?" To the extent we understand their present foci and modes of operation, most of the current models available seem in-

adequate at one or more critical points.

1. University extension divisions. As implied throughout this paper, I am not much enamoured of the traditional triumvirate segmenting the university's reason for being into teaching, research and service. Useful, perhaps, as an analytical device, it has characteristically meant sharp divorcement in actuality, with "service" consigned to divisions created for that purpose. Given the differing academic standards which usually obtain within "extension" activities, and the client-centered relationships largely defining what they do, it does not seem particularly surprising that neither faculty nor students have found in this mode a principal means of urban outreach. Judged by the conception offered here, extension divisions offer little possibility for the sustained research commitment we envision, nor do they generally provide an avenue of influence from which might result departmental and curricula change.

2. University-related research institutes. Unusual indeed is the large university that has not established (or "explored the feasibility of establishing") an "urban center" or "institute for. . . ." And from many of these have come data and disciplinary studies notably advancing our understanding of the processes of urbanization. But as Peter Rossi observes, many university centers have a "ghost-like" quality; they are "convenient sally ports from which the professors can emerge to gather funds from foundations and government agencies."[1] Too, by virtue of metropolitan size and lack of funding (or inclination), most centers have been limited to highly particularized studies of disparate urban phenomena. In either case, the net result seems similar; research is fragmented, performed on a piecemeal basis, dictated by sources of funding or private professorial interest (or both), and, it frequently appears, is more closely meshed to guild requirements and the academic reward system than any compelling quest for urban wholeness. And in few instances does there appear to there appear to be clearly developed rationales for relating research findings to wide segments of the larger population, apart from the traditional "ability to pay."

3. The "Storefront University." Recognition of past failures has occasionally given birth to experimental offspring, one of the more visible being the State University of New York at Buffalo's "Storefront Experiment" and its "University of the Street." The former is most vividly described by Gordon Edwards of SUNYB:

> The concept was simple; to "hustle" or sell education the same way the old storefront churches hustled religion, right on the

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[1] Peter Rossi, "Researchers, Scholars, and Policy Makers," Daedalus, Fall 1964, p. 1151.

> street where the action is. Ghetto residents had learned that the small Jefferson Avenue store was a place where they could obtain accurate, honest information about education, jobs, and a variety of other problems.[2]

And the latter:

> Early in 1968, the steering committee and the new project director . . . decided that the project needed more elbow room and that the university and college should make a greater contribution and commitment by providing relevant courses and classes in the ghetto. . . . classes reflected both basic skills and the black experience.[3]

That vital services previously lacking have been made available within Buffalo's Negro ghetto seems indisputable, and as a response to unfulfilled need, SUNYB's experimental emphases suggest possible models for other urban institutions. Seemingly without doubt, a university "presence" (indeed, credibility) has been created and individuals have been served in useful ways: remedial reading, tutoring, computer education, etc. But it does SUNYB no disservice to suggest that urban programs of this kind, so lightly encumbered by educational philosophy, relate only accidentally to higher education, that each program described by Edwards and by other printed materials from Buffalo may as easily be assumed by other social institutions more directly concerned. That this has not occurred in Buffalo is as much an implicit indictment of those institutions as it is a rationale for a university posture in the breach. As Edwards indicates, the university must be willing to

> . . . subordinate its goals, plans and programs to the local community or ghettos . . . to relinquish control without a concomitant decrease in commitment . . . to help the community people implement their own ideas, whether it feels them to be wise or not. . . .

But that's the rub. Whether we have significantly advanced our understanding of university urban participation by simply extending into

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[2]Gordon Edwards, "The University and the Ghetto" (Speech presented to the National League of Cities Annual Congress, New Orleans, La., December 7-11, 1968), p. 6.

[3]Ibid., p. 12.

[4]Ibid. , p. 21.

the ghetto fragmented, client-determined practices of the past and present seems less than self-evident.

If these models be insufficient, what, then? The obvious response declares for rearrangement of our academic furniture in ways that take seriously those principles elaborated above. More specificity, however, appears both necessary and possible. Let us pour our principles into that vacuous, if suggestive, phrase first offered some years ago by Robert Wood: the "urban observatory."[4]

The Observatory

> Observatory: A position or place commanding a wide view.
>
> Webster's Collegiate Dictionary

"Commanding a wide view"-- that is a phrase descriptive of the flaw identifiable in most present university activity. Hence we imagine the observatory to be a structural arrangement containing a core of scholars who give continuity and direction to the observatory's programs over time. It is a group of scholars whose competencies and temperaments permit them to collaboratively approach the metropolitan region in the whole-ism it presently demands; scholars whose objectives are not only the setting of priorities among the universe of research possiblities but are, likewise, the imaginative and sustained dissemination of what they at least tentatively concluded. We can easily imagine such a group to be concerned with the several fundamental problems and questions argued above: formulations based upon process rather than "solution," the construction and implementation of social experimentation that seeks to clarify the viability of alternatives before we pass laws or fund large-scale remedial programs. Hence, from this imagined observatory reasoned projection and prediction might be assumed, regarding not only the likely consequences

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[5] Like so many of the phrases and concepts which constitute the social thinker's lexicon, "urban observatory" has remained vague and ill-defined, meaning whatever particular practitioners wished it to mean. And because "observatories" are being established in numerous settings across the country, both within and beside the HUD program bearing that label, it may be helpful to indicate in extreme brevity what my conception of an "urban observatory" is not. However salutory and potentially useful may be those efforts with which I am familiar that now utilize the phrase, none embraces the comprehensiveness suggested throughout this paper. Nor does it appear at this writing that the HUD "observatories" have received either the vision or funding even remotely commensurate with the need. Hence, for good or ill, my use of "observatory" ought not be confused with any existing situation.

to be anticipated from present or contemplated decisions and processes but also carefully drawn normative statements as to desirable courses of action.

Several critical corollaries seem immediately derivative, the first of which would stress the complex computer capabilities required by this kind of research. Indeed, it seems accurate to suggest that only with the advent of electronic storage, retrieval and analysis has it proved even potentially possible to speak of systems approaches.

Secondly, coordination of university-based urban research is another vital function the observatory should perform. Here would be not only an invaluable source of information for individual academicians but an ongoing research activity into which they move as interest and time permit. And that is, after all, what the observatory is about in significant measure. Permanent staff, the core of scholars upon whom principally fall the issues of continuity and particular emphasis, must, virtually by virtually by definition, remain relatively few. It is the faculty of universities whose presence and competencies comprise the pieces from which the whole is fashioned.

At a somewhat different level, a third consideration must speak to the question of location and control. While discipline-bound departments may not derive from Natural Law, we have no particular confidence that the "radical restructuring" of higher education so fervently desired in many quarters will soon be consummated. Faculty are, institutionally, a conservative lot, and the history of inter-university interdisciplinary endeavors, designed to integrate the patches of knowledge to which each discipline unilaterally lays claim, is strewn with the shards of good intention and interdisciplinary cooperation. And because the professional conception of guild so completely dominates the organizational values and goals of nearly all universities entitled to the label, critics who demand it be otherwise appear as irrelevant as they may be correct. If this is so, any observatory will likely require administrative control that is independent of individual departments. Too, because such observatories can scarcely avoid (indeed, are committed to) questions of polity and choice, freedom from direct university control seems desirable, perhaps even necessary. This does not, of course, establish precedent; nearly all universities have responded to faculty or public pressures with semi-autonomous centers and institutes dedicated to this and that, often in extraordinary numbers.[5]

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[6] From which has emerged a considerable, if little understood, body of scholars or "researchers" in, but not fully of, the university. As Carlos E. Kruytbosch and Sheldon L. Messinger report, for example, the University of California's Berkeley campus embraced, in 1966, more than 1100 such individuals, two-thirds of whom "were in research units organized outside departments and schools."

And we would emphasize again: we conceive of the observatory as one, but only one, crucially central mechanism for academic participation in urban affairs.

The Satellite, Laboratory or Division

Our discussion of the observatory thus far, as seems the case with other such formulations drawn to our attention, has largely stressed the comprehensive and sustained research required by systems analysis. However critical such research and systems understanding may be, numerous facets of our earlier discussion have been served not at all. Channels of communication to groups and individuals that exercise economic and political decision-making; particular locations where specific aspects of the ecosystem are studied in depth by concerned academicians; foci for educational experiences that transcend the limitations of the classroom -- these are but three of the many and diverse considerations that suggest the development of the "satellite" as an essential, integral corollary of the observatory.[6]

In briefest form, even as the observatory implies the "wide view," so the satellites are seen to be physical locations throughout the metropolitan region from which information flows to the central facility or observatory and through which research, educational programming and influence are directed into the community or political jurisdiction. The essential point involves direct immersion within particular contexts, permanent locations that provide continuity of analysis through time. These would, of necessity, vary. Seats of local government are one obvious choice, but so, too, are those areas that have grossly suffered from past powerlessness, neglect and exploita-

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"Unequal Peers: The Situation of Researchers at Berkeley," American Behavioral Scientist, May-June 1968, p. 34. The meaning of this phenomenon to university life and policy is simply, to this point, not known.

[7] Here again, the tyranny of labels has emerged at this point with rather more emotion than we had anticipated. Originally described by us as a "laboratory," this aspect of the observatory immediately encountered heavy weather, not because substantive disagreement existed but because the imagery conveyed, especially to inner-city residents, connotations of a manipulative, non-committed researcher poised, at least figuratively, behind the all-probing microscope (or questionnaire). And that, we heard repeatedly, was "totally unacceptable." The unexpected power of this label lead us early-on to consider less value-laden alternatives. No descriptive term has proved completely satisfactory. My own preference (not even unanimously shared by Center staff) for "satellite" remains, but it is mine alone. In any event, whatever word (or words) is finally adopted by the Center, the content it must convey is reasonably constant.

tion. In the light of the many preceding pages, this need hardly detain us: in order to know, proximity is required to that being known, a seeming necessity not only for faculty engaged in research but likewise for policy-makers (however defined) whose adequacy as governors at least partially depends upon the information and knowledge available to them. Conceptually, at least, the satellite addresses both of these considerations. Additional comment may further illumine what we presently envisage.

1. To state a truism, most student curricula, particularly university offerings in the liberal arts, have lacked means by which the "stuff" of ghetto life, the debilitatingly brutal existence at the fringes of American affluence, is empathetically encountered as real. Less obvious but equally limiting is the circumscribed understanding of metropolitan complexity characteristic of nearly all students, regardless of background. Hence we visualize the development of working relationships with the Washington area's universities and colleges through which students encounter the methodological problems and procedures that make possible the observatory's grasp of the city as a system. These would be preceded, or followed, by direct experience and study within one or more of the satellites, participating not only in the collection of data but likewise sharing responsibility for its educational activities throughout the immediate community. The satellite becomes, in short, a more appropriate device for educating students, both in terms of their technical competence and in "feeling it in their guts." In less vivi terms, it is Newmann and Oliver's "action" component of education, the necessity for the experiential as well as the cognitive, "knowing" as distinguished from "knowing about."

Such considerations seem equally appropriate at other levels. Education for citizens assumes new dimensions at least in part because the university has come to them. With emphasis placed upon a wider understanding of people's educational needs and how they may be met, it seems reasonable to suppose that the university world will directly influence far more of the area's citizenry than has previously been true. And this kind of involvement is no less crucial in suburban communities than within inner-city neighborhoods.

2. We also conceive of the satellites as the focus of Fairweather's "social innovation," the devising and carrying out of experiments which test the adequacy of particular possibilities for ameliorating what we define as social problems. The Fort Lincoln New Town Intown offers potentially an excellent instance.[7] Given the location of a satellite at that site, a number of alternatives to "normal pro-

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[8] In briefest summary, Fort Lincoln is the site in northeastern Washington (immediately adjacent to Maryland's Prince George's County), formerly occupied by the National Training School for Boys. By Pre-

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cedures" could be created in the areas of social services, education and the like, each designed and interrelated for purposes of careful evaluation and appropriation for wider utilization. (The kind of experimentation that was initially anticipated in the Model Cities program but which, it would seem, has generally failed to materialize.)

Such reasoning can equally be extended to existing new towns, two notable instances of which are located within this metropolitan area -- Reston, Virginia and Columbia, Maryland. We find discouraging the present and pervasive enthusiasm for immense multiplication of newly-minted, full-blown communities as serious "solutions" to present urban malaise when their dynamics remain so little understood. Yet although they may indeed be harbingers of grand things to come, neither of these worthy examples has thus far been subjected to sustained examination in which the immensely critical issues of land economics, industrial development, the relationships of physical planning, and human satisfaction, the life-styles these developments satisfy, the achievement of racial balance and harmony, etc., are brought together in some semblance of coherence and understanding. The enormity of such analysis is near overwhelming yet without some approximate guidance at these points, policy seems almost certainly to remain locked in guesswork and wistful escapism. We imagine (with undue optimism, perhaps) that an observatory satellite (a university presence) offers one possible means for initiating such inquiry.

We need hardly limit such expectation to the glamorous and unusual; governmental jurisdictions throughout the entire metropolitan region must presently decide and act upon partial, frequently biased information and knowledge. It was ever thus, of course, and may well remain so. But these are relative issues within such matters of degrees may be critically important. Even now, suburban county governments comprehend only imperfectly their essential interrelatedness, the extent to which "social problems" transcend and defy political boundaries, and these imperfections seem indeterminately multiplied when county-District of Columbia affairs must be addressed.[8] Gover-

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sidential decree, this 355-acre tract is to become a national model of excellence, a new town intown in which, through processes not yet specified, social, economic and racial integration will characterize "innovative" physical planning. In 1969 ground was broken for the first building of this "carefully planned" community -- public housing for the elderly.

[9] Only now does a handful of suburban legislators sense the need for creating some semblance of rationality in the manner through which Negro out-migration from the District now occurs. Belated discovery that Prince George's County may well become the suburban equivalent of Washington has encouraged at least a willingness to talk. To what end, thus far remains open. See the Washington Center's "Development Methods to Accelerate Desegregation of the Housing Market in a

ance, for example (and the disturbingly perplexing questions of citizen participation and control), or rational land use, or institutional responsiveness, or any other element of the vast complexity and confusion so dispiritingly present in what we observe can hardly be understood apart from their metropolitan dimensions. Yet -- how is it possible -- no instrumentality presently exists for their systematic examination. Hence, again, the satellite, conceived as a device through and by which local variations of area processes are encountered, analyzed and related, through the observatory, to the metropolitan ecosystem as a whole.

Large Metropolitan Area " (1968). One notes, too, that willingness to acknowledge interdependency with the District remains highly pragmatic. Most members of suburban councils have been quite willing to disassociate and disclaim when gun control is the issue. Interdependence and an ostensible concern for the District's "well-being" have been centrally evident in the suburban drive to overturn recent freeway decisions.

EPILOGUE

It is faintly possible, I suppose, that the profound sense of uneasiness pervading the academic world, sporadically shattered and reinforced by the Berkeleys and the Columbias, will one day soon subside, to wither and disappear. And for faculty and students generally, that is a happening devoutly to be wished. The more likely expectation, however, must surely recognize Bell's insistence that "the university will become the central institution of the next thirty years because of its role as the new source of innovation and knowledge."[1]

Quite so. But our grasp of that centrality -- its nature, its obligations, its meaning for higher education's future -- remains diffuse and obscure. We have argued throughout this relatively brief statement that, quite apart from explicit, often intemperate, highly moralistic and naive student analysis and demand, sizeable numbers of academicians are increasingly sensitive to the skewed priorities and self-serving liaisons that presently characterize much of the house of intellect. We have also argued that into the foreseeable future, our grasp of social knowledge will largely derive from an awareness of an appreciation for metropolitan wholeness (however proximate and imperfect be that grasp). And we have argued that universities most usefully enhance when they are most surely themselves, when they are given to fullness of understanding and the liberation of human potential and the enhancement of free spirits.

We have sought in these pages to imagine one possible model from which these concerns might in some measure be addressed. Model-building is, we appreciate, an uncertain business, in which the brilliance of worlds that might be occasionally obscures those worlds that are and from which the vision must proceed. We have sought to avoid these dilemmas, reasonably confident that nothing proposed throughout this discussion resides beyond the capacities of administrators and faculty who take their own rhetoric at all seriously.

Issues remain, certainly, such as administrative mechanism, faculty reward systems, and official and community reaction and cooperation. I am not unmindful of their importance. But I remain

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[1]Daniel Bell, "The Post-Industrial Society: A Speculative View," Scientific Progress and Human Values (New York: American Elsevier, 1967), ed. by Edward and Elizabeth Hutchings, p. 158.

convinced that administrative and fiscal policies and arrangements are appropriately resolved after some minimal agreement has been achieved regarding principles and conceptual schemes.

I am encouraged by the response to these ideas from university and community alike, emphasizing anew a crucial aspect of this effort: there are, demonstrably, more faculty presently committed to systematic inquiry of and within this metropolitan area than can be fruitfully utilized through the limited structural arrangements presently available. Such faculty continue to press for and seek out alternatives to disciplinary and departmental limitations. It is to them, and to concerned students, and to harried administrators, that the observatory notion is addressed.

Let us get on with it.

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